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dent of the United States which contained an equal amount of such extravagant nonsense.''

W. G. BROWN.

Éléments d'une Psychologie Politique du Peuple Américain. Par ÉMILE BOUTMY. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1902. Pp. x, 366.)

THIS book is a companion to M. Boutmy's *Psychologie Politique du Peuple Anglais au XIX^e Siècle*, and like that it is interesting and suggestive; but it is a better book, for the different parts are more closely connected by a central idea, and there is less that is purely fanciful or exaggerated.

The author begins with a review of the work of Bryce and de Tocqueville, defending the latter against the criticisms that have lately been made upon him. Bryce's work he finds, as everyone else does, admirable; his only criticism being that Mr. Bryce confines himself too exclusively to portraying the facts, and attempts too little to study the psychology of the people. The criticism is doubtless based upon a truth, but whether Mr. Bryce's book would have been improved by the method of analysis suggested may be doubted.

The kernel of Mr. Boutmy's thought is found in the opening pages of his second chapter, where he says that among the essential conditions for the formation of a nation are the existence of a stable population, and its effective occupation of a definite territory. These conditions, he points out, are not to be found in the United States; and, in fact, he attributes the prevailing character of the American people to the continual migrations of the individuals of which it is composed, and to the unlimited land to be occupied in the western territory. "The source," he remarks (p. 26), "of every impulse to which the will has been subjected, and the matrix of every impression received by the character, are here the obvious necessity, the compulsion, if one can use the word, to reconnoitre, to occupy and to utilize this immense territory. This necessity furnishes, in a measure, to the imagination its notion of sovereign good. All other motives efface themselves before it, or impregnate it. In a word, the United States are above all an economic society. They are only in a secondary sense an historic and political society."

This theme he works out in many different phases. He describes the original settlement of New England and of Virginia, the beginnings of the movement towards the west, with the growing instability of the population consequent thereupon, the influx of European immigrants into the eastern states, and the sparse settlement of new regions in the west; all tending, as he thinks, to prevent the growth of uniform national characteristics, and true national feeling.

He discusses at some length the question of immigration, pointing out that all the different classes of persons who have come to America have tended to increase the homogeneity of the people in spite of differences in race, origin and character. The earlier ones, even down to the middle of the nineteenth century, were, he says, at least alike in the vigor of their will, their spirit of adventure, and the desire of gain;

while the more recent immigrants who have been of a feebler fibre, have, for that very reason, been the more ready to receive the impress of the surroundings among which they have fallen.

In the third chapter he points out how much more ancient the conception of the nation is in Europe than in America, and in following out this idea he comes nearer to the fanciful than in any other part of the book ; for he says that the Americans have not the same feeling of patriotism as Europeans. That sentiment, he says, does not appeal to their imagination, their public spirit being based rather upon a superabundance of individual energy and an enlightened conviction of self-interest.

In the fourth and fifth chapters on “The State and the Government” he makes the remark, which contains no little truth, that the European states and the American Republic belong to two distinct natural species, so that grafts from one to the other are highly likely to remain sterile. He goes on to point out that in France royalty made the nation, and the nation made the individual ; whereas in America it is the individual who has made and marked off the functions of the state. The theory is developed, as the reader may well imagine, at great length and under many forms, which it is impossible to describe in the space of this review. It is brought into connection with the thesis already propounded, that the United States is first and foremost an economic and not a political society. It would be interesting, if possible, to refer to many of his deductions. Some of them are very keenly put, as, for example, where he says that the checks and balances of power which have been represented as the marked trait of parliamentary government in Europe, are really only secondary and transitory. The real aim and crown of the system is the intensity of power, the authority and firmness of hand of the government due to the confidence which it draws from its manifest accord with the people. He points out, of course, that the American system is founded on exactly the opposite principle. In the course of his discussion he makes many interesting observations upon the organization of our government, state and national, and here he falls into occasional mistakes, especially in matters of law. He does not quite appreciate, for instance, the binding effect of decisions as precedents which practically enable a court to settle the law by a single case which is brought before it ; nor does he seem to understand the meaning of the decisions of the Supreme Court on the protection of civil rights under the Fourteenth Amendment. He sums up the difference between the French and American ways of looking at the government with his usual terseness. The Frenchman says : “Let us rather be governed badly than not governed at all,” while the American says : “Let us be as little governed as possible, rather than be governed badly ;” and speaking of the conservative tendency of our government he remarks that under the present organization the states find themselves under the most anti-progressive system which can be imagined. The chapters end with a discussion of the importance and the principles of local government.

The sixth chapter contains an interesting discussion of religion and ideals in America. There is not space to describe his views here, but merely to explain that he thinks the Americans lack inspiration in their religion, which has rather an ethical and practical, than a theological and imaginative, character.

The last chapter is devoted to imperialism and the Constitution, and in it he points out that the desire of expansion is not new in America, but is the outcome of a policy followed constantly for more than a century, and has its foundations in the most undoubted traditions of the American spirit. Hence, he believes it will not upset the institutions and traditions of the country, because in its essence it is not inconsistent with them.

A. L. LOWELL.

Japan: Its History, Arts and Literature. By Captain F. BRINKLEY.

[Oriental Series.] (Boston and Tokyo: J. B. Millet Co. 1901.
Vols. I.-VI., pp. 260; 286; 256; 267; 260; 301.)

UNTIL the Japanese write scientific history, we must rely upon those foreigners, who to mastery of the sources add industry and insight, for an intelligible picture of Japanese life in the past. While it is unsafe for a native at home to dissect ancient legends, the alien has free play. Happily we have here the work of one who began thirty-five years ago, in Japan, to acquire the language, striving to interpret the life around him by a knowledge of origins. These six volumes from his pen, to be followed by six more, form probably the best work that could at the present time be produced. To the three names, all of Englishmen, who are the "great lights of Japanese scholarship" to whom Captain Brinkley dedicates his work, we may justly add his own. Though subordinate to artistic features, Japanese history is here quite fully treated both with power and insight in this sumptuously illustrated work, which is to be completed in twelve volumes. Except some general notes in the appendix to each volume, there are no references to authorities. In so far the work lacks that guarantee, which the exacting critic demands. However, with the general lack of knowledge of original Japanese sources among Occidental readers, it is hard to see how references could be supplied, especially in a work like this. Those who know the author's breadth and depth of scholarship and the saturation of his mind with Japanese ideas, as well as his cosmopolitan experience and acquaintance with modern critical methods, can read these volumes with satisfaction. Not that Captain Brinkley is infallible, for on American references and illustrations, we find ourselves compelled to make allowance occasionally for parallax. There are not a few places, also, in which he ought to have given us exact translations of important brief documents or passages. Furthermore, as history, the work is seriously lacking in not allowing for that continuous fertilization of the Japanese mind through contact with Europeans, and the continuous infiltration of Occidental ideas through the Dutch, in which was scarcely an intermission for nearly three centuries. Even before the arrival of Perry these had produced a small army